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## CANADA AND IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

IN Great Britain, and in several of the larger colonies, the subject of Imperial Federation has been somewhat discussed of late. A central league has been formed at London with eminent men filling the chair in succession, and with a very formidable list of dignitaries from the four quarters of the globe as vice-presidents and members of council. Several league meetings have been held. Branch leagues have been formed in Canada, Australia, and other colonies. An official organ has been established, and the movement may be said to have a *locus standi*. In such a matter the ultimate question is the important one. It is not of much consequence whether the leading statesmen of the day recognise the movement or ignore it. The vital point is—does the project rest upon a sound basis? Does it offer a wise solution of the colonial question, which is a larger and more important one than the average Englishman is inclined to believe? If it does, then it will steadily grow in importance until the politicians will have to take it up. If it is impracticable, and surrounded by hopeless difficulties, then, of course, it will collapse, and the very worthy gentlemen who are now giving it their patronage and support, will quietly drop it.

The difficulty at the outset is want of understanding on the question. The people of the British Islands are very apt to look upon it as a matter of privilege to admit colonists to a coequal position in the control of the empire; and the people of the larger and more important colonies look upon it as a matter of considerable merit on their part that they should give up any part of their absolute freedom of action in order to throw in their lot with the empire, and that they should voluntarily resign the position of freedom from any expense in connection with the army and navy in order to assume a share of the burden. In this way the imperial federationist of Great Britain has one idea and one set of difficulties in his mind, while the colonial imperial federationist has another idea and a different set of difficulties in his mind. Under such circumstances, it is an act of superior wisdom on the part of the active promoters of federation to resist strenuously any attempt to define in words or phrases the precise meaning of the movement.

The largest and most important of Great Britain's Colonial possessions is the Dominion of Canada. It has an area of over three and a half millions of square miles. It has a population of at least five millions and is rapidly growing. It has large cities and rising towns. Its trade is expanding and its wealth accumulating. It has

two of the greatest railway lines in the world. Canada cannot be charged at home or abroad with lack of national enterprise. She has incurred a debt of hundreds of millions to secure a national highway from ocean to ocean. She has not feared to offer enormous subsidies to fast steamers to extend her trade with the world. She stands ready to contribute to ocean cables when they can be shewn to be necessary for the purposes of her progress. She has invested tens of millions in the construction of canals. Indeed, in the willingness of the Government to embark the resources of the country to any extent in overcoming the difficulties which her vast area and geographical location impose, Canada has gone far ahead of her great neighbour, the United States. With a vast North-West already opened up by railway, containing fertile land without limit, the prospects for the future are most promising.

In such a country, where wealth is being rapidly accumulated, not, indeed, by any spasmodic influences, such as the striking of oil or the finding of gold, but by the steady progress of trade and industries, naturally a strong national sentiment must be developed. "Canada for the Canadians" is an expression often heard in the country. Bright young men, fresh from the University or just admitted to the bar, are full of a sense of national life. Everything is to be done and suffered for Canada and for the progress and well-being of the country. Overshadowing all this is a feeling of loyalty to the Empire. It is our empire and its sovereign is our Queen. A desire to see the honour of the Empire maintained, its rights respected everywhere, and its mission of civilization and enlightenment perpetuated, is almost universal throughout the whole of the wide Dominion. Nevertheless, as time advances, and as Canada assumes larger proportions, and achieves greater wealth and power, it is not unreasonable to believe that the period will be reached when her sons will begin to think of Canada *as* Canada and not as a mere dependency, and when it will be an ambition among her people in travelling over the world to make the name of Canada recognised and respected by all persons. This is surely what might be expected of such a body of men, mostly of British origin. National pride is even a deeper impulse than political allegiance. There is nothing inconsistent with true loyalty in the inevitable yearnings for a national life which must arise in a country of the proportions and possibilities of Canada.

These suggestions only serve to open up the whole Colonial question as it confronts the more enlightened of British statesmen, and will presently confront the most stolid and practical public men. Great Britain has founded many colonies within the past two or three centuries, and the nation is soon to be confronted with the question, What is to be the outcome of all this? It will be admitted that the most important movement in the way of colonization took

place in the direction of North America. The discovery of the New World, the exaggerated conceptions formed concerning its mineral wealth, the beauty of its scenery, the advantages of its climate, the fertility of its soil, and the tempting field it presented for adventure and speculation, led to the development of most important colonies in North America. When the crisis occurred in 1775 the North American colonies were the only ones under the protectorate of Great Britain which could be thought of as capable of forming national aspirations. The issue in relation to this first great colonial possession is not reassuring, for the very moment the people were able to stand alone they threw off their allegiance and set up for themselves. Nevertheless it would not be accurate to conclude that this will take place in all cases hereafter. The loss of the American colonies a hundred years ago was due to unwise British policy, and the lesson has not been lost.

Since 1783, however, the other British colonies have been gradually developing and assuming proportions which raise the question of national life. Canada stands first. She has nearly double the population of the thirteen colonies that rebelled in 1776, and vastly more than double the wealth and resources. She has undertaken the responsibility of federation, and all parts of British North America (except Newfoundland) are under one central government. Australia is moving rapidly forward and will soon have the numbers, wealth, and strength, to look about her seriously and ask, What of the future? In time South Africa, as the British population increases, will be reaching the same crucial point. It is not amiss, therefore, for British statesmen to watch the drift of events in these large English communities, and it is equally proper that Colonial statesmen should be earnestly grappling with the same problems. Not, indeed, that there is any occasion for precipitancy of action, but that all incidents should be carefully studied and no accidents happen, no blunders occur, from the fruitful cause of ignorance.

One or two axioms may be stated at the outset, and, though axioms of the simplest character, the mass of men are unaccountably slow in recognising them. The first is that countries like Canada cannot always remain *Colonies*. The mass of the Canadian people have certainly never absorbed this idea, and the mass of the British people have never stopped to consider the matter at all. But it is surely a pregnant subject for consideration, for there is deduced another question of great import, namely, If Canada and Australia cease to be British Colonies, what will they be? It would be surprising if a British statesman had no interest in such a question. A Colonial statesman most undoubtedly has. It is these plain and obvious considerations which have led to the Imperial Federation movement. It is an attempt to solve the problem by means of a closer union of all the

scattered areas which owe allegiance to the British Crown—bringing together all into a common partnership, sharing the responsibilities and dangers of the Empire, and participating in its glories. Such is its aim, and it is the proper time to consider its advantages, if any, and the difficulties which are inevitable. Can it be done? Should it be done? Is it for the common interest that it should be done?

Since Canada is the first and most important of the British Colonial possessions, it may be well to consider how the matter stands in relation to this particular country. It does not follow that the example of Canada will be adopted by all the other Colonies, but Canada's action, and the reasons which will influence it, are likely to have their weight all along the line. It is too early to form definite opinions or to make dogmatic statements. The most that can be done is to honestly look over the field and throw the utmost light upon the present situation, and thus open the way for intelligent deductions for the future.

There is probably no country in the world occupying a more anomalous position than Canada, and this is beginning to impress itself upon people generally. A country of national proportions, with an assured future, independent in its government—as independent, to all intents and purposes, as Great Britain itself—and yet a colony, a dependency unable to be recognised by, or treat with, any nation, not excepting her only neighbour, the United States. Such a condition of things obviously cannot last for ever—indeed, is not likely to last much longer. A portion of the Canadian people, chiefly the more intelligent and advanced thinkers, believe that the present position of the country is humiliating, and do not hesitate to say so, and give their reasons for it. They say that Canada ought not to accept all the advantages of the Empire without paying her share of the cost. But these do not represent the major part of the population. Notwithstanding that some Imperial Federation leagues have been formed in Canada, and some public discussions taken place in regard to our relations to the Empire, and many articles have appeared in the periodical publications, and even the daily papers, on the future of the country, the fact remains that the great majority of the people are still in favour of the *status quo*, and would be inclined to regard as radical and dangerous any suggestions in the way of change.

At first this would appear strange. The most natural thing in the world is to expect that the people of a country which had reached the position achieved by Canada would be turning their gravest attention to the problem of their future position and destiny. But a second thought will furnish many reasons why there should be no desire to disturb existing conditions. The present position of the Canadian people is essentially satisfactory. They enjoy the full ad-

vantages of British institutions and constitutional government. The will of the people is supreme in the legislature and executive. Every man lives in peace under wise laws. The commerce of Canada traverses the sea under the protection of a flag the whole world is accustomed to respect. In every trading town in the two hemispheres the Canadian merchant finds a British consul to protect his interests and take care of the humblest seaman. And he cannot but reflect that he is not called upon to contribute one dollar toward the payment of the salary of this official. His ships ride the ocean in security by virtue of a navy which it does not cost him a penny to maintain. Every cottager feels that no foreign foe will ever dare to set his foot upon one inch of Canadian soil, because it is made sacred by the force of British arms, which, while thus casting the halo of its protection over the whole land, has the unspeakable merit of not costing him one farthing for its maintenance. Altogether, the colonial position is so comfortable that ordinary colonists may be pardoned if they do not agitate their souls over the future so long as the present is made secure. At the same time it must be kept in mind that while Canadians derive great and palpable benefits from British connection, these in reality cost Great Britain very little. The military and naval power which throws its protecting shield over the colonies would be essential to maintain the prestige and secure the autonomy of the Empire if no colonies existed. A regiment of soldiers and a few artillerymen and engineers are stationed at Halifax, but it costs no more to support them there than at home. A few warships ride in the harbour of Halifax every summer, but they would cost no less if kept at Portsmouth. The staff of ambassadors and consuls would have to be maintained in any case. Therefore, the fact that the colonies derive certain advantages from British connection, for which they pay nothing, does not offer any sound reason for abandoning the colonial system. It is not very costly, especially in the case of the larger and more important of them.

It would be doing great injustice, however, to the public spirit of the Canadian people to suppose that they will always be content to enjoy the benefits of British connection without sharing its burdens and responsibilities. It would be doing equal injustice to suppose that they will always be content with an exclusion from the full privileges of British citizenship. The two ideas must always be blended. The very moment the Canadian people assume a share of the responsibility of Britain's foreign policy they will claim a voice in shaping it. If they are to be affected by commercial treaties they will have a hand in framing them. If they are to be subject to the consequences of a foreign war they will demand to be heard in deciding the question of peace or war. If they are to pay the expenses of diplomacy they must have a share in directing it, and a portion of the honours and emoluments. In a word, if they give



up the comfortable position they now enjoy, they will do it for the superior powers they will exercise—for the larger field that will be opened for the display of their talents, and the superior citizenship which is involved in equality rather than in dependence.

This is the standpoint from which the Canadian Imperial Federationist looks at the question, and the most loyal and enthusiastic would spurn the idea of accepting any other position than that of absolute equality in any scheme for Federation which may be devised. Here is a difficulty at the very threshold of the discussion. There are not a few people in the British Islands with innate prejudices against admitting a large body of men from the various colonies to the Imperial House of Commons, and at the same time entrusting some of the executive departments of the State to Ministers coming from across the sea, and representing interests not exclusively insular. The temporary expedient of creating a powerless advisory council at London may be attempted, but it will not be Imperial Federation. It will not permanently settle the problem of the future of the colonies; it will not satisfy the aspirations of great and growing communities; it will not fulfil the yearnings for national life.

It must be kept in mind that each large colony will consider this question of its future from its own standpoint, and this may lead to vast differences in both motive and object. Note the wide difference between the geographical position of Australia and that of Canada. The former is surrounded, in the main, by foreign and unenlightened peoples. Its neighbours, if it may be properly said to have any, are not those with whom it would be possible to affiliate. Its chief connection with the great English-speaking world is through London. Its chief defence against attack from without is the British navy and the prestige it carries. And yet in Australia we hear the note of independence not unfrequently. The case of Canada would point still more strongly in the direction of independence. She is not surrounded by savage nations. She has upon her borders the greatest English-speaking community the world has ever seen—a nation which has to-day a population of over sixty millions, but which will have in a few decades a population close upon two hundred millions—a nation with inexhaustible resources and enormous wealth—a nation which could create a navy greater than any yet afloat in a few years, without noticing the expense or borrowing a dollar. It can be easily seen that while London is at present the centre of the English-speaking world, yet Canada could keep up her connection with the world and the race very fully by means of alliances on her own continent. For her defence from foreign invasion she looks now to British arms; but, if she chose to dispense with her British connections, she could easily ensure security by simply allying her fortunes with her great neighbour, which is an alternative not available to either the people of Australia or of South Africa. Enough

has been said to show that a line of policy which might suit the conditions of one colony would be entirely inapplicable in the case of another, and this leads to the conclusion that it would be difficult to formulate any scheme of Imperial union which would suit all interests. Such a proposal, if indeed it ever takes practical shape, must address itself to each colony in turn, and this obviously adds enormously to the difficulties of the whole scheme.

It is but just to say that though Canada has the alternative of accepting an alliance with the United States, this has never had any appreciable effect upon the loyalty of the Canadian people. It is likely that there is as much genuine regard for the interests of the Empire in Canada to-day as in Australia, and as warm a desire to promote the common glory. No Canadian public man has had occasion within the memory of the present generation to suggest the alternative as a result of any friction with the Colonial Office. But, in thinking of the future, the Canadian cannot ignore the fact that a political alliance with the rest of the continent is one of the solutions open to him. It has been thought of. It has been written of. It has been openly advocated. It has its avowed advocates in Canada to-day, and a still larger number of secret advocates. It has a great deal that is rational in support of it. During the past two centuries, and particularly during the last one, North America has developed its great progress, enlightenment, and national life. It has grown up free from the feudalism and class interests which mark European civilisation. The sense of liberty and equality is everywhere felt on the continent. Canada has imbibed this spirit, and it is a part of her institutions. North America has a civilisation of her own—a political mission and destiny quite apart from that of Europe. Canada has more direct interest in the development of North America than she can possibly have in the British Islands or the whole of Europe. It would be natural for her to seek alliances with her own great neighbour.

Commercially their interests are interlaced from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It would mean no disregard for England if Canada allied herself to the United States, and chose to mould her destinies according to North American ideas rather than upon European lines. In a word, the only real objections to the federation of North America under one central government, instead of two as at present, are purely sentimental.

But these are enough. In nation-building, sentiment is a more potent factor than self-interest. Go to France and Germany, and demonstrate to the people of those two great countries that the true policy would be to federate—to have one capital, one set of officials, one united army. The logic might be irresistible, but the result would be insignificant. In a somewhat lesser degree it would be preposterous, at present, to endeavour to persuade the Cana-

dian people that political union with the United States made for their material interests. This consideration, usually so potent in guiding human action, would be absolutely powerless in this connection. There is still a deep-seated objection in the minds of a large majority of the people of Canada to union with the United States. It may be unphilosophical, it may be irrational, but it exists. It is probably the offspring, for the most part, of the spirit of loyalty to Great Britain which has long permeated the minds of the great majority of the Canadian people. It is not easy to blot out a century of history in a day, and the record of the past hundred years has had a constant tendency to confirm British Americans in their devotion to British as against American interests. The conflict of the Revolution was succeeded by the war of 1812-15, with its invasion of Canada, and since then there have been Fenian raids, fishery controversies, and other unfortunate incidents to keep up the ill-feeling engendered in 1776-83, and it is simply not a practical solution of the future of Canada to suggest political union with the United States, because the preponderating majority of the people will not hear of it. Time is the great miracle-worker and may change all this; but we must speak of things as they are. No material considerations will induce the Canadian people at present to accept political union with the United States.

A second alternative is Imperial Federation. Some of the difficulties which stand in the way of this have been already hinted at, but there are others which must be dealt with. In the first place, if the Canadian people desired any such federation, is it certain that it is possible? In other words, is it clear that the British people stand ready to give up a part of their present absolute control over the affairs of the Empire, and share it with statesmen representing the interests of the several great Colonies? At the beginning the British Islands would have the preponderating power in the federation; but it would be foreseen that this could not be permanent. The principle of representation by population could not be ignored, and in a few decades the representatives from the Colonies would outnumber those from the parent State. Great Britain would be merged into Greater Britain. It is not easy to see any reasonable objection to this from a Colonial standpoint, nor, indeed, from any impartial point of view. But such a scheme is quite sure to arouse misgivings and opposition in England. Add to this the varying conditions subsisting in the different Colonies—all of which would have to be consulted and would act freely—and the difficulties in the way of Imperial Federation are seen to be very great. The Canadian people would find this solution of the future a rather tardy one, even if they were favourable to it. But are they favourable?

This opens up a wide question. Not very many have stopped to con-



sider the matter. The few who have openly allied themselves with the Imperial Federation movement are not men occupying very prominent positions in the world of practical politics. The political leaders have studiously avoided saying anything beyond the merest generalities. Sir John A. Macdonald has said some pleasant and excessively loyal things in London before the league, but he has declared with emphasis before the Canadian people that he was a "home-ruler up to the hilt." Sir Hector Langevin, a prominent French Canadian in Sir John's government, has, within a year, denounced and repudiated any suggestion of any scheme of Imperial Federation. It seems to be understood that the French population of Quebec will resist any proposal in the direction of federation *en masse*, and if this be so then an almost insuperable barrier blocks the scheme. At present the French population undoubtedly holds the balance of power, and it would be impossible, at this time, for any government to live in Canada which had the whole phalanx of the French representatives against it. If Imperial Federation were submitted to the people at the polls it would have no more chance of being carried than annexation, though it might, perhaps, get more votes. It has not yet been seriously considered. It is altogether likely it will be, and probably the question will have to be fought out. It is by no means certain that Imperial Federation would ever become a practical question from any innate sense of its necessity or desirability on the part of the Canadian people. It is probable they would drift into some other idea if left to themselves. But it is almost impossible to believe that British statesmen will not some day wake very seriously to the problem, "What is to become of the Colonial Empire?" Lord Rosebery thinks it is worth while to consider the question now, and he seems to be not very far away from an influential place in the government of the Empire. Any day may bring forth an event which will fix attention on the whole subject. The Australian provinces may very soon accomplish a union of the whole island-continent. Then may be heard the muttering of the independence idea. It is already heard in Canada, and is likely to be heard more distinctly each year; Lord Salisbury is inclined to give but little heed to the Colonial question. But a Government may appear in England at any time which will be more disposed to recognise the vital importance of settling the problem of the numerous growing English communities the world over, and determining what relations they are ultimately to hold to the parent State. If this should come to pass, then the question might be forced upon the attention of the Canadian people, as part of a general imperial policy—forced, of course, only in the sense of a friendly proposal to consider the question in relation to the general strength and consolidation of the empire. In such a case the matter would be sure to be considered and fought out. That it would meet with

enormous and determined opposition is beyond debate. What the result would be is matter of conjecture, upon which there must needs be differences of opinion. But the balance of reasons seems to be decidedly adverse to the adoption of any scheme of Imperial union by the Dominion of Canada. Some of the reasons have been already referred to. But there is yet another, and this leads to a new branch of the subject.

Two possible alternatives for the people of Canada have been already discussed, and there remains yet a third—Independence, or an independent nationality. Like the others, this last has not been as yet very seriously considered by the Canadian people; but it is a fact that this idea is beginning to take possession of the minds of many of the most intelligent men in Canada. It is among the young generation that it finds most support. The moment it is realised that the colonial relation is not perpetual, the necessity for some solution of the problem of the future arises, and the idea of an independent existence is most calculated to fire the imagination of young men. As a sentiment of national pride develops, the thought of independence grows. To have a country of one's own, of large resources and ever-widening possibilities, is an aspiration natural as it is commendable among a people who have already achieved so much as the Canadians. A similar feeling seems to be taking possession of the people of Australia. It need not create surprise in England, as it simply demonstrates that the English are a dominant and self-governing race; and as soon as British colonies develop proportions sufficiently great to enable them to stand alone, they are ready to accept the responsibilities of national life, and are unwilling for ever to be tied to the apron-strings of the Mother-land. This implies no lack of regard for the parent State; on the contrary, the interest in and affection for the home country shows no sign of diminution. A man does not indicate want of parental regard when he creates a home for himself and assumes the duty of providing for himself and his family. It is natural and proper that this step should come in the case of the individual; it is not less so in the case of such large communities as Canada and Australia. If those who are concerned in the scheme of concentrating the powers of the English race, and making the forces of the English-speaking people at home and abroad a unit for the common glory and the common strength, addressed themselves to the work of securing enduring alliances with those great colonies which shall hereafter establish an independent existence, it would be likely to prove a more practicable undertaking than anything involved in any shadowy project of federation, which presents enormous difficulties, and may prove short-lived, even if accomplished.

Let it be understood, Independence has not yet approached the realm of practical politics in Canada. It has not been much considered by the masses of people. As has been already said, the

present position is satisfactory, and the period has not yet been reached when Canada shall feel strong enough to stand alone. This involves difficulties and responsibilities. Besides, the present generation contains many who are extremely, perhaps bigotedly, attached to Britain and British rule, and who would be unwilling to listen to any proposal involving separation. A great many prejudices must be overcome before a peaceable solution can be effected on these lines. But old generations are passing away and new generations are arising; and in proportion as the country develops in population, wealth, and power these ancient prejudices will disappear, and each day will see the spirit of national pride grow stronger. In debating societies, where young men of intelligence meet to discuss public questions, the development of a glowing sentiment of national life is plainly discoverable, and when, upon the platform, any public man of advanced views hints at an independent nationality, he is sure to be greeted with applause. The germ has been planted, and the idea is manifestly growing in the heart of young Canada.

It is too soon to say to what extent this feeling will spread, and how soon it may reach the stage of practical action. Nothing has occurred of late to give it any direct impetus. Any friction between the Canadian Government and the Colonial Office might call the full strength of the independence sentiment into formidable existence, but this does not seem likely to occur. Therefore one can but form general opinions as to the trend of events. Granted that the colonial relation is to terminate some day, it is not too much to say that independence seems, at present, the most probable solution.

There is no necessity for haste. Things are moving on wonderfully well at present. Canada has been building great railways, and expending large sums in developing the country. The period has now been reached when she can adopt a rest-and-be-thankful policy for a time. Many there are who form an exaggerated idea of the cost of national life. Representatives will have to be maintained at foreign courts, consuls located and paid in all quarters of the globe where our commerce extends. The naval strength of the country would have to be considerably augmented. All these involve heavy annual expenditures. At present, having regard to the interest on the public debt, the revenue and expenditure of the country under the existing tariff nearly balance, but the population is increasing and will continue to increase rapidly. The wealth and resources increase even more rapidly, and, therefore, in a short time, the revenue will far exceed the amount now obtained, and additional annual expenditure can be easily provided for. The cost of a diplomatic and consular service is not a very great item to a country whose annual revenue is now close upon forty millions of dollars; so that these initial difficulties stand a fair chance, in a short time, of being overcome.

The question of defence, which in Europe is such a formidable one, does not present the same difficulties in America. North America is practically divided between the United States and Canada—both English-speaking countries, and happily free from the entanglements of European diplomacy. While each great power in Europe is compelled to expend the best part of its treasure upon the maintenance of huge military and naval armaments, the United States, which is larger and wealthier than any of them, has a national police of about 25,000 men. She has no need of more. She stands in no danger of invasion, and the civil authorities are able to maintain order throughout the country. Canada, if she became an independent state, would have but one neighbour, and that one without a standing army, and without any thought of military aggression. Therefore an army and expensive fortifications would be needless. Up to a recent period the people of the United States have seen no great utility in a navy, and allowed the warships which were called into service during the civil war to fall into decay. But of late it has come to be recognised that in a great nation like the States, possessing a commerce which extends over the world, it is a matter of just pride as well as national wisdom to have a well-equipped and efficient navy, which will be ready at all times to maintain the honour of its flag in foreign waters. Such a navy is now being built, and in the course of a few years it will be discovered that the United States navy ranks among the best in the world. Canada, if she assumes the burdens of national life, would have to adopt a similar course, and this involves considerable outlay, but she would be free from the necessity of wasting her resources on expensive military armaments. It is the advantage which North American civilization has over European.

The people of Great Britain, however much they may be disposed to rely upon their own pluck and resources for maintaining the national interests and honour at home and abroad, can view with complacency the creation of an effective navy by the United States as well as Canada. Blood is thicker than water, and whatever little family jars may now and then occur between those great English-speaking peoples, if the day should ever come when British interests and honour were in real peril, owing to European combinations, depend upon it the star-spangled banner, floating proudly from the masts of American warships, would be found floating beside the glorious old Union Jack. This, perhaps, sounds too pretty, but it is not Utopian. In all parts of the United States we hear unpleasant things said about Great Britain. Party politicians are not above seeking votes by appealing to anti-British sentiment. But this is, after all, only skin deep. We can afford to quarrel with our dear relations, and make them the butts of our most polished sarcasm when they and we are prosperous; but in the hour of their adversity and

peril we must always come to their rescue. But so far as Canada is concerned, whatever future is in store for her, or however soon she may choose to float her own flag, generations and centuries would be too short to efface from the hearts of her sons the indelible traces of universal affection. *Her ships and her men* would always be at the service of Britain in the hour of need.

One serious difficulty will confront the Canadian people in the event of their adopting independence—the form of Government. Other things being equal, the limited monarchy is the cheapest and least troublesome. After the one hundred years' experience of the United States, not a single Canadian is convinced that an elective executive with supreme power during his term of office is comparable, as a system of government, with a Constitutional Sovereign governing according to the advice of Ministers, responsible every hour to Parliament and the people. Besides, there are tremendous objections to the turmoil, excitement and unrest inseparable from frequent Presidential elections. But, on the other hand, the atmosphere of America is not favourable to crowned heads. A violent prejudice against Monarchies in America prevails among the masses in the United States. The same idea permeates the leading public men in that country. While Canada has a right to do as she pleases, it is not to be forgotten that the relations existing at all times between Canada and her great neighbour, are a matter of vital importance. It is necessary for us to be on friendly—on cordial terms with her. Our interests are now closely identified in a thousand ways, and, if independent, they would become still more so. In trade, in tariff arrangements, and in many other ways, Canada cannot afford to be indifferent to American views and policy. It is certain that if Canada resolved any time within the next twenty or forty years to establish an independent existence, formed a government upon the British system, and invited a prince of the Royal blood to occupy the throne, such a step would create an unfavourable impression in the United States. The people of the United States would be very glad to see Canada independent, but they would not be pleased to see a monarchy established on this Continent. Dom Pedro was always well treated by the United States, but his presence as a monarch was never welcome. When he was bundled off to Europe minus his crown, the American people were delighted. There is a prejudice on this continent against the idea of sovereign and subject. Equal citizenship is the regnant sentiment, and the man who is Chief Magistrate of sixty millions of people for four years, possessing greater power than any constitutional monarch in the world, when his term expires, steps down among his fellow-men, and takes his place among citizens exactly as if he had never filled any great office whatever. With the ideas held by most of the great English-speaking race of North America, it is really doubtful if a monarchy



could be long maintained. And yet the majority of the Canadian people are not in love with Republicanism. To a practical statesman, this question of the form of government will be one of the most trying problems, if independence ever becomes a living political issue.

Some there are who are oppressed with the fear that if Canada were cut off from the protecting power of Great Britain she would become at once the victim of American aggression. The unfriendly course pursued by the United States Government in relation to the fisheries and seal-taking in the Behring Straits, is instanced in support of this apprehension. But the wisest and most far-seeing will not be alarmed by these imaginary fears. It would be necessary, at an early stage, to have all questions relating to trade, fisheries, navigable waters, and other matters of common interest settled upon some fair basis, and then public opinion in the two countries would enforce the spirit of the Convention. The people of the United States have never been inclined to be aggressive towards Canada, nor would they be unfriendly to an independent Canada. What is distasteful to many of them is to see growing up beside them a great country owning allegiance to a foreign sovereign, and thus in danger of becoming imbued with European rather than American ideas. There is no motive on the part of the American people for hostility toward Canada. They have abundance of territory and ample scope for development, and so long as they saw growing up beside them, and sharing with them the control of the continent, an enlightened nation with ideas similar to their own and with aspirations in the direction of civilization, liberty, and peace, what more could they wish? Besides, if it came to that, in a few decades the Canadian people would be in a position to resist any aggression, and to maintain their rights. God spare us forever the horrors and wickedness of war; but if it must come, it is the northern climes which have given to the world its invincible soldiers.

To sum up, Canada is prosperous, contented, and happy. She may have errors and evils in her administration, but the remedy for these is in the hands of her people. She is growing, and will continue to grow. She is loyal to the Empire, but cannot afford to be always a colony. She may become part of the Empire under a general confederation of the English-speaking communities scattered throughout the world. And she may be absorbed in her great neighbour. But the stronger probabilities are that she will eventually take her place among the nations of the world with splendid prospects of greatness and power. In which case, and in any case, her people will never forget the great nation from whence they derived their origin, and whose qualities implanted in them constitute their strongest hope of success and glory.

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